

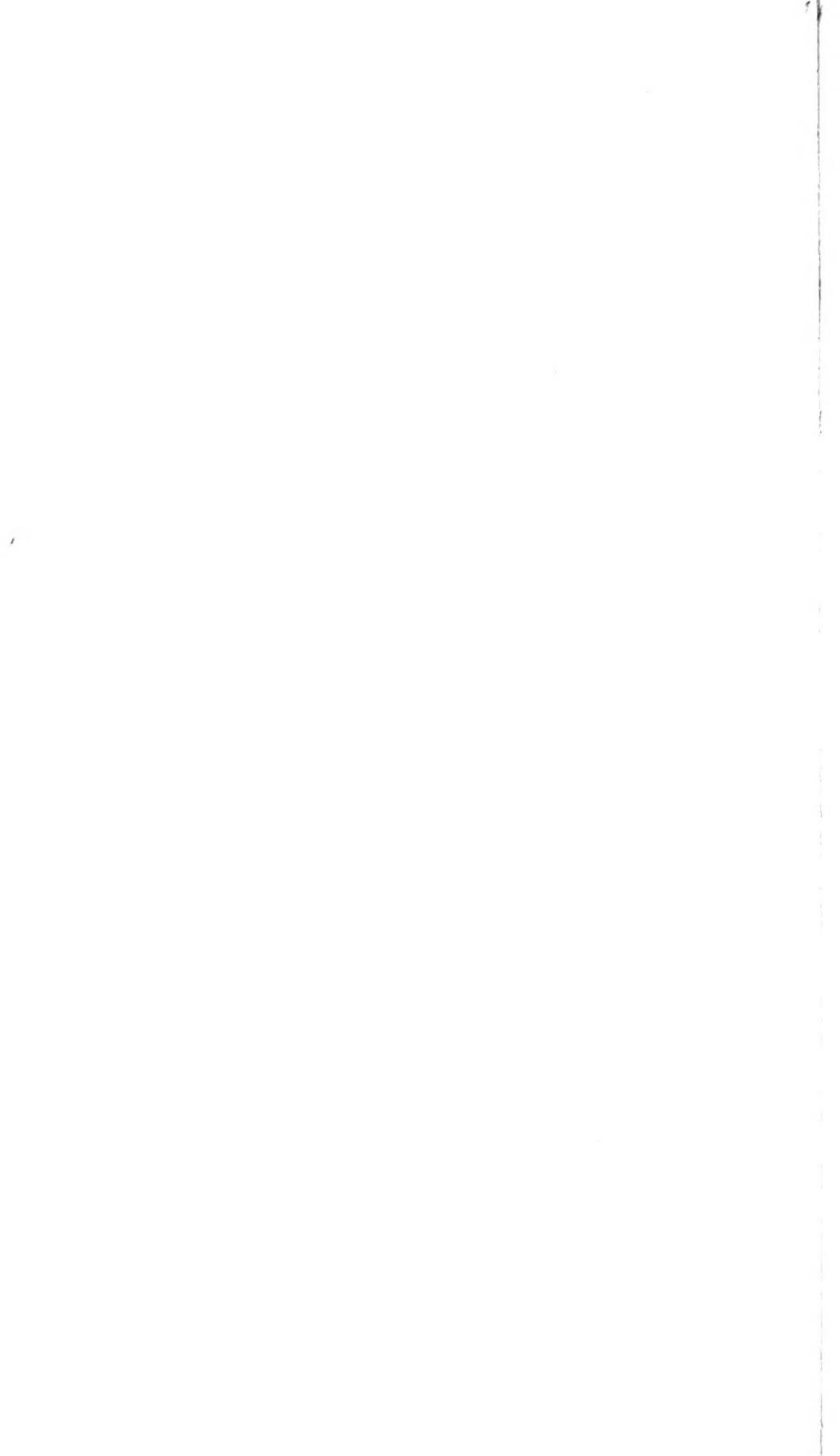


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THE
TOCSIN
OR
BRITANNIA:
WITH A
NOVEL PLAN
FOR A
CONSTITUTIONAL ARMY.

By JOHN STEWART,
THE TRAVELLER.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E.

I MUST convert the preface to an incongruous use, and make it nothing but an insertion, serving to admonish and recognize a class of respectable Patriots called Whigs, (forgot in the body of the work) who serve unintentionally as the edge of the wedge, or point of the arrow, to the general class of revolutionists; who, if left to themselves, would be blunted in power by their desperate circumstances and immoral characters, and their jacobinical zeal would serve only to alarm and unite more firmly, the friends of Britain, whose inestimable constitution has been, and still continues to be, the matrix of all social and moral perfectability.

I recommend to all Britons sensible of the perfectability of human nature, to turn all their attention to the temperate instruction of the people, in the bosom of their families, to increase thought, and to discountenance all public assemblies, the schools of fanaticism, discord, and revolution, tending to excite dangerous and precipitate action, the blight of all perfectability; and let government form the ligatures of the patient, while philosophy conducts the knife of operation to couch the cataract of prejudice in the mental eye.

THE
TOCSIN OF BRITANNIA.

THE awful importance of the present crisis diverts my mind from the prosecution of a work of the most profound theory, and calls imperiously its attention to the practice of life, to discover that delicate and precise line of conduct which is to guide political prudence, to preserve social peace, the only medium of the existence or improvement of intellect, the source of universal good.

I have travelled over the most interesting parts of the globe, have observed the miserable condition of human aggregation, formed by various modifications of civil power, but England is the only country in which I have met with moral union, exalting man to the most elevated state of civilization.

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By moral union, I mean the qualities of thought and reflection pervading a very considerable mass of the community, by which they are enabled to take a comprehensive view of their political constitution, to judge of it, not as a perfect immutable system, but as an experiment of policy adapted to the present predicament of things, effecting not positive good, but substituting lesser to greater evil; and so disposed as to tend towards perfectability with a gradation suitable to the improving progress of human intellect and the mutability of nature.

The great majority of the community, in whom thought and reflection have less influence, these form a factious leaven, whose minds delighting in contingency, regard the revolutions of a country with the same indifference as the revolutions of domestic or individual life, and providing the day presents a novelty of occurrences, they feel no apprehension of consequences destructive of social peace.

If we examine the conduct of the revolutionists both in and out of parliament, they seem equally actuated by the common principle of contingency, and hostility to system; and though the ruins of civil society are still smoaking after the conflagration of its edifice
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in France, they cease not to throw around their inflammatory embers in this Island ; these, however, falling upon the non-combustive matter of a thoughtful people, have no effect, while the more durable or hotter embers are extinguished by a Philosophic Jury, who know how to discriminate the treacherous demagogue from the temperate and honest reformer.

It is impossible for a patriot Englishman to read the speeches of parliamentary demagogues without feeling the most violent spasms of indignation. One of the most thoughtless, and at the same time the most active, not long ago called upon the minister to declare a rule or system for war carried on against a people who had destroyed all rule and all system, opening a vortex which threatened to ingulph all civilized society. The reply of the minister shewed that he possessed the characteristic thought of the people he served, viz. " that national safety could have no criterion but existing circumstances ;" which wise answer seems drawn from a great moral axiom, that all principle must contain the quality of * flexibility as to rule or capacity

* Among patriots, the word constitution means nothing but *salus populi suprema lex* ; but when they useit to the factious, it means specific rule or immutable law, a necessary barrier to the sophistry and subtlety of crafty demagogues,

to adapt itself to predicament, but immutable as to end, the practical point of union of individual, and universal good, from which is projected the line of theory or perfectability ; this point is to be discovered only by the exercise of thought and reflection investigating the most just and most general relations of things in interminable progression.

Not long ago, one of these thoughtless demagogues demanded an exposition of the quantity of arms this nation could furnish in case of an invasion ; it was observed in reply, that this measure would give advantageous knowledge to the enemy ; the motion however was still persisted in, because, forsooth, the character of a friend was implicated in the question, and national safety in the opinion of this demagogue was to cede to private affection.

The whole tenor of the speeches of these dissipated, thoughtless demagogues, resembles more the pleadings of French Advocates than English Legislators ; they are replete with chicane, built upon the inflexibility of * rule without respect to the end, with which doctrine they attempt to fix the mutability of nature, and like ignorant pilots would steer

* A man of principle pursues ever the same end, making flexible the rule of means ; whereas knavery or ignorance substitutes the means for the end, and the rule for the purpose.

the vessel of the constitution or state upon a direct though dangerous course, when winds, rocks, and shoals of existing circumstances demand a circuitous navigation to the harbour of safety.

I do not mean to brand the whole of opposition with a general mark of reprobation ; I am convinced there are many well meaning members who are employed as honest centinels over the balance of power, to prevent the dangerous and treacherous preponderancy of either of the three states, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy ; and to preserve unimpaired the nice equipoise of the British Constitution, which solves the most difficult of all problems, a sovereign people governed by a sovereign King, and holds out an incontrovertible testimony of the progress of thought and reflection towards the climax of intellect in the Island of Great Britain.

I must now address myself with more particular and diffuse observations to the inferior class of demagogues. The titles of their different associations I recommend as complete lessons for the conduct of their actions ; had the society for constitutional information been guided by their appellation, would they have had the madness or folly to send deputies from a drunken club

club to represent the majesty of the English people? In Scotland, should they not rather have sent investigatory publications of the system of government best calculated to promote the progress of human intellect, addressed to the intelligent and thoughtful part of the community, and not inflammatory penny publications to be forced into the hands of thoughtless plebeians, prone to precipitate action, which by destroying system must cause ever the retrogradation of intellect?

I recommend to these constitutional instructors to inform themselves before they attempt to inform others, and when they have matured in their own societies the English characteristics, thought and reflection, they may then distribute them to others who would become affiliated members; and by thus increasing thought, the great and only source of good, sentiment would be assimilated, and action would move in unison upon the graduating line of perfectability. In the mean time I must recommend the conduct of these associated instructors to the vigilance of a British Jury, to check their inflammatory declamations and ambitious demagogues, and by a wise and philosophic verdict, mark the clear demarcation of sedition and instruction.

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There is another description of reformers, who have assumed the noblest of all titles, viz. friends to the liberty of the press : this is however too thin a veil to cast the shade of incognition over their notorious and inflammatory characters ; had their intention been conformable to their pretensions, would they have been wholly occupied in the protection of bill stickers and preachers of sedition ? The true friends to the liberty of the press, are those only who confine it to instruction and not inflammation, to thought and not to action, for the death of intellect is the natural consequence of the liberty of passion, irreflection, and thoughtlessness. The liberty of the press must be liable to the same modifications as civil liberty.

It may be asked by some well meaning members of these societies, whose benevolent disposition has been duped by the sophistry of demagogues, the insects of contingency, how are plebeian minds to be enlightened, if oral and scriptural politics are not to be addressed to them ? I answer, by Sunday Schools, by the writings of inquisitive philosophy calculated to prevent the precipitancy of action, by the pro and con considerations of good and evil, inseparable from all institutions ; such reasoning represses

represses passion, and increases thought and reflection, the true clue for graduating reformation which leads predicament on to perfectability.

I know some of these popular demagogues, and I am confident they are influenced by the base motives of personal vanity or personal interest; they pour out of their mouths a torrent of verbose nonsense in the midst of an assembly of irreflective youth, holding forth axioms formed and adapted to the primitive ages of an innocent and unpopulous world, which they recommend to the practice of a redundant and vicious population at the present æra. They would substitute the system of a ~~feet~~ for the policy of a nation which inveighs against murder, and opposes all criminal justice and national war; though without legalized murder there could be neither internal or external peace to society. The applauses of the majority, and the pockets of the minority of the audience, furnishes aliment to the unprincipled ardour of these demagogues, who are cautious to read and hear no discourse but what conforms to their habitual association of ideas, which is so tenacious that the sharpest wedge of doubtful wisdom has no power to separate.

The extreme paucity of numbers of these Jacobinical Reformers would have justified the most contemptuous silence ; the notice here taken of them was intended not to expose, but rather to instruct and instil into their minds of wit and levity, that proportion of thought and doubt which might render them naturally and civilly true British citizens.

If a proof was still wanting to corroborate the testimony of all mankind of the pre-eminency of thought and sagacity in the English Nation over all others, it has been discovered in the associations of the Yeomanry upon the breaking out of the war with France. They, with the most wonderful British intuition, took a full view of the moral and political crisis, and judged it to be a war of social existence. They discovered that the irreflective disposition of a nation depraved by despotism and superstition had no intention to reform, but to destroy civil order, and to scramble for property at the wreck, without considering that the scramble must be perpetuated 'till the most ferocious despotism should check it ; but, like the dog in the fable, they look only to get fat, and have not reflection enough to foresee the chain and the collar.

Let us take a concise view of the French Revolution, and we shall find that in no one period was it directed by system ; the forms of various constitutions impressed on parchment, but not the mind, had scarce time to dry ere plebeian tumult made them a mockery. The present unparalleled energy of popular despotism, the pride of all Jacobins, must subside when the pressure of foreign hostility which has created it shall be removed. Is it possible to give that country applause for the attainment of its present predicamental energy ? It resembles the river disemboguing itself into the sea, and not the climax of graduated system. In all despotic countries, when the flood-gate of power is broken down, the want of civic knowledge in the people must carry them downwards to the predicament of plebeian tumult, when law and order affording no protection, the mind overwhelmed with horror seeks safety in the torrent of impulse or popular frenzy, which, however energetic for the moment, must in the end bring civil society to its dissolution.

It may be objected to the above mode of reasoning, that had France preserved constitutional government, it could never have procured an energy suitable to its hostile predicament ;

dicament ; if this be true, it tends to prove that the great mass of population was so corrupt, that like the consumptive patient, nothing but death could relieve it. The recombinations of the politic body after dissolution is as little subject to calculation as the human body, whose renovation of sensation or life, must be influenced by the exact quantity of good in existence at the moment of its death.

If it were possible for the politic body to resist the evils of anarchy till education might produce a new generation, and reform the ignorance in the great mass of the aggregated people, anarchy would then be preferable to despotism ; but the agonies of anarchy are like those of the disease of the stone, that calls upon the lithotomist of power for immediate cure or immediate dissolution.

If we look through all the works of nature, we find all the parts of existence organized into system, whose various capacities germinate into energy or perfectability ; should the predicament of any one genus or species assume an unaccommodating state, it must draw upon itself either injury or dissolution, e. g. should fruit trees put forth their blossoms in the midst of winter, the frost must destroy them ; should

a nation annul the ~~evil~~ system of private property, or the subjection of the minority to the will of the majority of the community, called Government, the safety of surrounding nations, threatened by this new and unaccommodating predicament of revolution, would oblige them to oppose its progress. This must be done by a defensive and not an offensive system. All violent and unsystematic revolutions by their internal concussion would shake the cement out of the social arch, and cause an instant explosion of all its parts, if some external weight did not compress it.

The above reflection induces me to propose a plan of conduct to the confederate nations of Europe in the present awful crisis. The offensive operations of war should be immediately put a stop to, and the following manifesto issued by the confederate powers :

In the sacred name of universal good, enlightened by the intelligence of progressive truth, sensible that all modes of being are co-existent and co-essential parts of one great integer, whose energies operate in their respective spheres, communicable in motival influence but incomunicable in motival direction, * rendering

* The higher energies of nature, e. g. the sun may motivate a man to walk out, but cannot direct his road. Again, the head

rendering thereby every sphere the final and independant director of its own collective energies, to produce the greatest quantity of good to self and nature in time and eternity, measured by and related to the circumference of its own orbit ; we, the Potentates of Europe, looking upon ourselves as the central and protecting energy of the sensitive sphere of existence, by this manifesto make known the purity of our intentions, and the expansion of our conscience, enlightened by the knowledge of self. Whereas the nation of France is overwhelmed by a most dangerous anarchy, caused and perpetuated by an irrefective, unprincipled, and ambitious faction, who have had cunning enough to infatuate a thoughtless multitude with the tenets of unmodified liberty and equality ; tenets whose leaven must produce the most incalculable fermentation by confounding the fool and the wise man, the individual and the public will ; tenets, which have so completely destroyed all social order by subverting its base, viz. the security of property and the security of person ; we judge it expedient for the protection of

head may motivate the attitude of the leg, but it cannot direct its circulation to prevent an ulcer or ulcerous. The final or directive energies are inherent in all species of being.

Intellegens,

intellect, the high energy of this our sphere of existence, to form a cordon of armies upon the frontier of our own territories in the proximity of France, to repel all invasions of a dis-tempered and delirious people, and to be ready to stretch out a protective hand to that remnant which may survive the horrors of the present depopulating anarchy, and shall call unequivocally for relief with such numbers as may assure success. We are determined to evacuate all our conquests, and to avoid all contest but what is purely defensive; and as there is no authority in France to form a public will with whom treaties might be made, we are necessitated to declare a peace, though we know no nation can hold peace with others that cannot first give peace to itself, and subjugated by a faction whose power is supported by war. We hereby make known to all interested and observant nations, that finding the phrenzy of the French people increased by our attack, we are determined no more to penetrate into the interior, or to employ direct or indirect means to oppose it; but that we will wait the result of this wonderful Revolution with the most ardent desire that good may eventually be produced: but we can entertain no rational hopes that the increase of intellect, the source of all good, can be produced by any thing

thing but civil discipline accommodated to the powers of thought and reflection in the great mass of the people, and calculated to suppress passion, and liberate reason, or dispassionate inquiry, in a modified liberty of the press.

We conjure the French nation, in the sacred names of Truth and Nature, to attempt the re-establishment of system, which may organize the great mass of population, so as to give power to the will of the majority, and lay down such laws as may be adapted to the present human predicament with a capacity to improve into a graduated perfectability. We conjure them to reflect that all mankind are but sensitive bubbles on the great ocean of matter, breaking and renovating by life and death, and that from the moral institutions of intellect the turbulency or tranquillity of that ocean is affected, which transmit good or evil to the identical dissolving and renovating matter revolving in the inseparable union of self and nature to all eternity.

Were the above measures to be pursued by the confederate powers, the spring of the revolutionary power of France would be so relaxed, that all its external efforts falling back upon its own center must cause a complete dissolution of all public authority, and France must become a field of such atrocious and insufferable anarchy, that

that agonizing humanity would call upon surrounding nations for protection. If, on the contrary, order should miraculously be produced, all nature would rejoice at such an event, as it must accelerate the æra of universal good.

A present view of the moral state of France gives but little reason to hope that the present Revolution will cause the progression, rather than the retrogradation, of universal good. It is not only involved in a chaos of practice, but a chaos of theory also. Leaders of the most popular party expiring upon the scaffold ; teachers of the most popular opinions shut up in prison ; patriots arrested ; the altar of liberty covered with mourning, to deter the inquiries of justice into the enormous peculation of scoundrel demagogues ; virtue at so low an ebb, that the act of saving the life of an abandoned foundling is reported to the Convention and recorded as a prodigy, and many other acts that in England are so naturalized, that not to perform them would expose a man to public contempt, are recorded in French annals as the phenomena of private virtue.

Listen to the National Assembly debating upon the confiscation of foreign property ; the maximum of advantage was made the criterion of their decision ; no repugnance expressed for the

the dereliction of the sacred principle of national faith and immutable justice ; no modification proposed which policy pleaded for, to grant a subsistence to those creditors whose property united them to the prosperity of France. The watch-word was plunder, and detected their lurking principle throughout the whole Revolution, to be the acquisition of property, and the quick mode of transfer substituted to the slow and unpleasant mode of industry.

What a mark of plebeian folly does the late decree (respecting the emancipation of the slaves in the islands) betray ; this was done, they say, to frustrate the plans of Pitt ; a school-boy would immediately have detected so gross an error ; this decree was equivalent to the surrender of the islands, and will change capitulation into invitation. My heart shudders while I find it necessary to reprehend such measures of apparent virtue ; but I know the character of the people ; they do every thing by impulse, and nothing by reflection : they are so short-sighted and improvident that they never can see the end, but only the rule or means of action. The decree of emancipation will be the fiat of massacre, and the anarchy of the islands will co-operate in its own similitude with the anarchy of the metropolis, to give a tremendous but important

lesion to mankind, that reason and liberty must move in a parallel progression: liberty ever some few paces behind; for any desultory advance must have a recoil, whose sudden weight will cause the retrogradation of both.

The thoughtlessness of the French character, or aversion to contemplate propositions till all their relations are exhausted, in the double statement of predicament and perfectability, render moral truth an ignis fatuus to mislead, and has induced them to transmute the policy of thirty millions of corrupt people, into a fraternity of assimilated and innocent sectarians: the characteristic vanity of the nation is become a spring of universal energy, while foreign enemies oppose their delirium, and they would suffer their bodies to be reduced to inanition by famine in the contest, providing their skins after death were stuffed by fame in the temple of vanity, the Pantheon; where nature, the integer of existence, is rocked to sleep by the transmutation of its fractional parts in the opinion of French philosophers.

I might produce a variety of incontestable facts to prove the moral character of the French nation incompatible with the improvement of civilization, and that nothing but despotism can preserve them from total extirpation. A view
of

of the present state of the city of Lyons centers every testimony corroborative of this sentiment. It is called *the enfranchised city*. According to the latest reports, the troops of the line had been fighting for three days and three nights with the national guards. Eighty thousand inhabitants deprived of all means of subsistence. The destruction of Houses. The revolutionary tribunal with spies and executioners offering the only remedy of the scaffold to those whom hunger or the distress of relatives might cause to sigh or groan loud enough to be heard. The asylum of civic virtue with its doors so enveloped in the sophistry of Robesprian moderantism, that no one can find its entrance placed between the extremes of superstition and atheism, patriotism and moderantism. Here then we have a view of the first enfranchised city, whose code of rights terminates in hunger and the scaffold, and this paragon of liberty and equality must be followed by every other city in France, when the confederate powers shall have wisdom enough to declare a peace, and thereby cause the external energies of France to recoil upon their own center.

Nothing but extreme thought and sensibility can make man provident of the end of action. Short-fighted, unfeeling men enter upon the re-

volution of a nation with the same indifference as the revolution of a dance, and they are disposed to cast off the most sacred institutions with the same levity as they would cast off two couple ; and such is the unhappy moral state of the French nation, who, notwithstanding all their ingenuity in the field of knowledge, are far removed from wisdom, which can be attained only by learning to think or to invert the mind upon itself, the only operation which can produce manhood.

Should the present war be continued upon an offensive system, I predict the dissolution of society over all Europe, and its consequent subjection to Asiatic tyrants. The energy of France in proportion to the pressure, like a tube of water, will overflow upon surrounding nations to resist its torrents, the great mass of the people must be armed by their governments, and the destruction of all civil authority must ensue.

To enable Great Britain to outlive the general wreck of civilization, I propose the following measures to be pursued :—That a constitutional army be immediately formed of all men of property ; that the qualification of a volunteer be an acre of land, a house, or £.500 sterling in effects ; those individuals whose sum might exceed

ceed, should have the privilege to guarantee a volunteer for every exceeding sum of qualification he possesses, or 20 acres of land ; that an oath should be administered to maintain the present constitution practically and theoretically, till the most evident majority of the people so qualified should testify their desire to reform it.

In Great Britain property is so generally diffused, that I have no doubt 3 or 400,000 men could be embodied, armed, and disciplined, which would secure this country from all internal or external assaults. The thoughtful, reflective character of Britons, the product of education through a series of ages, enables this country to view the very essence of the present revolutionary spirit, which aims at nothing but the acquisition of property by the substitution of transfer to industry. The defence of this island in such a contest can no longer be entrusted to mercenary and ignorant soldiers liable to the seduction of sophistry or interest, by whom subordination is at all times regarded as the greatest of all evils, and nothing but the fear of death holds them to their functions.

This constitutional army is to be called out by the king, and pay to be given to those who cannot subsist without it. The establishment alone of such an army would prevent the necessity

ity of its being called forth ; what troops dare mutiny, what insurgents dare assemble, what enemy dare invade, when they know the government of this country is supported by 400,000 volunteer citizens assembled upon the first signal ? Such an army would not only preserve this island from the general wreck of civilization, but would accelerate the progress of human perfectability by procuring a total emancipation of oral or written discourses ; seditious sentiment would have no other effect than to provoke discussion and prepare the triumph of civic knowledge, without the aid of Hessians, a police of spies, judicial sentences, or fasts which bring to memory the fable of Hercules and the Carter, which, however expedient, have lately operated to excite the indignation, degrade the reason, and debase the civic character of the British nation.

When I take a comprehensive view of the past and present operations of the moral world, I am most confidently of opinion that nothing but assumptive power can separate the optimacy from the pessimacy of the people, or organize the mass of a nation into the constitutional shape of head and body, with its several members. The active sovereignty of the people in populous nations can have no existence ; the present

present plebocracy of France must terminate in some democratical constitution, whose perpetual contention will draw all the efforts of the mind from self-contemplation to the means of political, civil, and natural subsistence ; whose broils keeping the mind in external operation, will never present that peaceful medium in which it is brought to invert upon itself and produce thought and reflection.

In the government of an optimacy, like the British constitution, supported by the volunteer army before proposed, society is organized with a head and a body, and becomes a political entity or identified mode of being, by whose unitary energy great passions and great reason is produced.

“ Passion is the Card, but Reason is the Gale.”

The vigour of industry, encouraged by the honors of the state, prepares a superfluity which, overflowing upon the community, furnishes an easy subsistence to contemplative men, and produces that medium of leisure, peace, and competence, in which philosophy thrives and discovers the progressive nature of moral truth. The severity of discipline, moral, civil, and political, keeps the great mass of the people

people or body in due subordination; while factitious wants and desires increase their sensibility, and this their intellect, the spring of all perfectability.

Advocates for democracy mistake its turbulence for energy, and contentions of subsistence for the progress of sentiment. The philosophers of Greece and Rome had no auditors, but their pupils, and demagogues were the only teachers of practical policy which absorbed all moral principles; were it possible for any of the ancients to renovate in their former precise identities and visit this island, they would be confounded to hear more noble sentiment and true philosophy taught in toasts at a convivial banquet, than was ever known in their academies of sophisticated nonsense, where sounds held the place of sense, and words of things; and he who had the talent of talking or writing what was unintelligible to both himself and others, was dubbed a philosopher.

When the constitutional army shall have been embodied, organized, and disciplined, the æra of public safety will commence, and with it the progress of moral, civil, and political perfectability, the corrupt system of pensions and sinecure places may then be abolished; no hungry oppositionist would dare to oppose the measures

stures of government, but upon the ground of public welfare : members of Parliament would become counsellors of the nation, and if their opinions failed to direct, their patriotic zeal would still co-operate to execute the will of the majority.

The moral happiness of the community would then become the first object of State Councils. Academies might be formed like those of the ancients, where philosophers might publicly discuss all propositions which concerned human perfectability ; committees of moral economy might be established to take cognizance of the health, subsistence, and sports of the people ; popular associations might be formed to present the accumulated energy of intellect against every domestic evil that afflicted human society.

I see but one evil which opposes the British zenith of social existence, and that is, the heterogeneity of the great mass of its subjected population. In Ireland and Scotland, was a constitutional army to take place before thought and reflection had assimilated them more to the British character, I fear the horrors of civil war in those countries would oblige England to re-establish the Wall of Adrian, and cut off these dependencies from the advantage of its moral union, which would still remain the head

of the world, the protector of humanity, and the progressive point of perfectability to all existence.

Ireland, through the extreme dissipation and ferocity of its inhabitants, produces nothing but victims of misery and folly to wield the sword of British conquests; industry, uncultivated and oppressed, gives no fraternal aid to the laborious peasantry of Britain, staggering under the load of a national debt accumulated to purchase a commerce which honest Ireland would choose to participate in profit, but not in loss. If you ask contributary taxes, they say they are poor; this excuse might serve every dissipated, drunken inhabitant of a parish when the public collector calls upon him for payment. Why are they poor? Because a want of thought makes them all men of pleasure from the duke to the beggar; commerce fails through a want of punctuality, industry is destroyed by the harpy hand of dissipation, which can afford no indulgence to an oppressed tenantry; in short, pleasure causes such a morbid circulation of property in the body politic, that it is at all times in a fever which threatens a letiferous crisis, unless British influence opposed power to defect of thought as the only remedy to their incivick malady.

Scotland, though possessing a better moral character than Ireland, is still defective in civic virtue. Though punctuality gives uncommon vigour to their commerce, industry is still checked by the cold hand of avarice in the land-holders, which freezes the blood of the labouring poor, and drives them for relief to the wages and livery of folly in the British army. They pay taxes, indeed, to support the burthen of the public debt, but it is payed in such a proportion that stigmatizes both their soil and their civism. I fear a constitutional army can take place in neither * Ireland or Scotland, 'till the martial character has been more pacified by commerce and agriculture, which introducing luxury, sows the seed of sensibility ; and this the severity of civil and domestic discipline meliorates into thought and reflection ; when these take place in the mind of the individual, the seed of perfectability is sown, which requires the education of some

* In Ireland, the establishment of a volunteer army which had not property for its basis, had very near overturned the constitution ; but no inference can be drawn from the example of an irreflective people, to deter a thoughtful people from a measure so essential to their safety in the present dangerous predicament, when the very existence of social order is threatened by internal and external enemies, and while the horrors of French anarchy presents an antidote to the contagion of its example.

generations to mature into the knowledge of self, or true civism of existence;

" For self and nature link'd in one great frame,
" Proves true self-love, and social is the same.

These countries, like all the other parts of the British dependencies, must be held in peace by the influence of British power and British wisdom, and should their connections become disadvantageous or troublesome to Great Britain, they might be thrown off as a load which checks her career to that climax of moral, civil, political, and natural perfectability, which they must inevitably attain if the establishments of a constitutional army should take place, and guard her line of progress from all hostile contingencies.

To remove the censure of inconsistency which will, no doubt, be heaped upon an author who urges man to progress towards perfectability, and reproves him when he makes it, (I here allude to Stictures on the Conduct of the French Revolution, and its abettors in this Country.) I will make the most ample confession of all the inward operations of my mind; I love system, and abhor contingency, not that the change threatens the loss of comforts. I can live upon potatoes, sleep upon straw, cloath myself in a sheep's

sheep's skin ; what loss of comforts then can the uproar of revolution bring to me ? I'll tell you, the loss of mental liberty to speak all I think ; and as I think instructively and not inflammatorily, in a peaceful society this loss must succeed to anarchy and uproar. You will answer probably, yes, for a time, as the war begets peace. To this I reply, when reformation in a state assumes a temperate and coordinate predicament so as to give power a new form, I should boldly face the momentary anarchy it might threaten, and probable calculation of improvement would assure my hopes of perfectability : but when I see the social fabric attacked and overturned in its very foundation, personal safety and personal property, and this by a nation whose moral character of levity and thoughtlessness is notorious, I am apalled, and I can see nothing but barbarism preparing the grave of civilization, contingency presenting a dreadful vortex to overwhelm system, and despotism implored to save the annihilation of the human species by the total extinction of human wisdom.

I hold a long lease in my tenement of existence, and seek no rack-rent operations ; I believe my interest inseparable and eternal with the whole mass of matter, of which I must ever form

form a component part, that whatever may be its various modifications of energies, they are beyond the reach of ken and communication. Every sphere can take cognizance only of its own independent energy, by the exercise of which its own sphere being improved, all intervening matter must be benefitted in time and eternity : I seek only the progress of human energy or intellect, and believe that to be the best system of government which has power to restrain passion and liberate thought ; and such is the British Government practically and theoretically.

I conjure the administration of this country to look with anxious contemplation on this awful crisis, and while a neighbouring nation, struck with a martial frenzy (the offspring of their natural levity stimulated by invasion) is arming the whole of its inhabitants ; is it wise for Britain to sleep behind its wooden walls, guarded by mercenary armies of plebeians inadequate to protection in the new civil predicament of nations ; when the poor are incited to plunder the rich by a system of equality, which none but fools can learn, or knaves can teach, and which would bring such an universal contention of passions among the human species, that nothing but the most cruel despotism could

could check, in which reason or perfectability must retrograde to an incalculable distance ?

Before I conclude this epitome of discussion upon so awful a crisis, I shall endeavour to concentrate all reflections and relations upon the subject of civil society into a point, and present a most important question for the contemplation of the public mind, viz. which is the best form of government in the present predicament of mankind, to protect and promote the increase of human intellect, the source of all perfectability ?

In my travels over the most populous and most interesting parts of the globe, I have always observed knowledge bore a parallel progress with the energies of government. I shall begin eastward with China ; in this country, where kingly power is at its zenith, the arts and sciences are in a most pre-eminent progress relative to other eastern countries. In India and Tartary, the progress of science has universally ceased, but their books and histories furnish evidence of the past progress of science in a parallel with the peaceful dynasties of their powerful kings. In Persia, their libraries which now exist, have had no augmentation since the expulsion of kingly power, and the succession of contending rebel chiefs exercising

exercising a precarious and very limited authority. In Turkey, the Sultan has made several attempts to establish a press for the circulation of science, but insurrection of the people which keeps the throne perpetually vacillating, threatened to tear the hand that offered it food, and sovereign power was obliged to indulge them with the darkness they preferred to light. In Germany, the dispersion of light and science was graduated by the balance of power, between the sceptre and the mitre. The Emperor had established the freedom of the press, but the power of superstition at last triumphed, and it was supposed he was poisoned by the priesthood. In Italy, we see the progress of science marked by the power of the prince as in Tuscany. In France, the progress of science began with the most arbitrary of its princes, and has moved on in progression to the æra of the present anarchy, when nobody has leisure to write a book or inclination to read it, and the whole of the intellectual faculties are absorbed by fear, by political contention for power, or means for subsistence. We come at last to the extremity of the west, where we find a country where government nicely balanced and poised upon the hearts of the great majority of its people,

liberates

liberates the operations of thought, and restricts those of passion, lest precipitate action might disturb the equilibre of a magic constitution, the work of ages, and the wonder of the world ; but when a constitutional army shall be established to guard the scales of power, the press will have a total liberation, and the great question of which form of government can best protect intellect, will be answered by pointing to the British Government, the paragon of civil polity.

The novelty and magnitude of a constitutional armament, will, no doubt, appall the partizans of antiquated laws and customs, but let them reflect, that should French transports, protected by red hot shot, land 100,000 ruffians, reeking with the blood of their fellow citizens, to meet only a bloodless troop of rustics, whom they might fascinate with the caballa of liberty and equality ; what would be the fate of Britain ? Who can doubt a moment whether it is better to trust the government of this country to a constitutional army of Britons, or to submit it to the mercy or the fraternity of sans culotte conquerors.

As I wish much to impress the public with a favourable opinion of my impartiality and integrity, having confessed the state of my mind, I will also expose the condition of

my person. * I have an annuity of 300l. per annum on my life in the French funds, which I purchased ten years ago, (at 10 per cent. having vainly endeavoured to procure 8 per cent. in England) and which is now suspended ; I have 500l. in the American funds, and 300l. in the English funds. † I have lately applied to administration to serve this country as Oriental Interpreter ; I was answered that an alien was appointed for the important and secret negotiations of the Turkish Embassy, and since my application some Oriental Embassadors have been sent from the Secretary of State's office to the India House, to procure an interpretation from the very people they bring complaints against. Withered be the hand, and paralized be the heart, of that man whose private interest shall dictate his public sentiments.

I am engaged in the cause of truth and uniyersal good, to which end, all rule of

* I was formerly in the service of the East India Company, which I left because I despised it; and travelled into the interior parts of India, to obtain that knowlege which might forward my great and only object, the good of nations and the good of nature, which design was evinced by a letter wrote at the age of 18 years, and now upon the Company's record.

† All the above property was saved from mere salary, as Interpreter to some Eastern Princes, whose service I quitted upon the acquisition of the above competency.

principle must bend, and all mode of action be directed. I will flatter neither nations nor ministers; let them throw their sops to the Cerberi of faction; they can neither stop nor inflate my lungs, which are devoted to my higher interest of universal good. I hate your smiling affable complying demagogues; let Pitt preserve his frowns, Grenville his pride, Dundas his firmness, and they will fortify my expectations of a successful administration from their united efforts in this most awful and critical conjuncture, when the dissolution of civil discipline threatens to bring on the retrogradation of human perfectability.

Before I conclude, I must congratulate my country upon the present appearance of a most auspicious moral phænomenon, which is the alliance of patriotism and power, brought about by the audacity and atrocity of almost every description of oppositionists; parliamentary demagogues, appearing as advocates for the enemy in their sophisticated orations, reforming societies in the correspondence of inflammatory hand-bills, endeavouring to recall the plebeian legislation of Lord George Gordon; the prostituted miscreant editors of public papers, promulgating paragraphs calculated to convey intelligence to the foe, and to confound

all principles of civic virtue, and this tripartite union of unprincipled opposition, so openly manifested against all civil discipline, serves but to increase the consternation of thoughtful citizens, and force them to join the standard of power to defend the ramparts of social existence.

There is another class of oppositionists, which I must mention apart from the rest, not that they are separated from the general coalition of the enemies of Great Britain, but as they are the most dangerous they must be rendered the most conspicuous tools of faction; I mean the puritanical sect called dissenters, or presbyterians: these madmen are so indoctrined by their hypocritical pastors, that the peace, the institutions, and happiness of this life, are all in contrast with those of future existence; hence their enmity to all civil order which confines them to the precincts of a wholesome Bedlam of disfranchisements, to prevent the contagion of their dangerous enthusiasm.

The pages of universal history are but sections of indictment of these hornets of the hive, they have ever been the spring, the conduct, and the accomplishment of all convulsive revolutions: they have ever played the parts of rationicides

rationicides to let man loose in the career of superstition, ideotism, and credulity. The sceptics who endeavour to check fanaticism in this mad career, must support civil and political power, and if folly maintains the diminution of good in this life to be the augmentation of it in another, wisdom has a right to oppose such chimerical opinions, and by maintaining that the same perfect or imperfect state of the whole of existence in which man or matter dissolves, must be the very identical state in which he or it is to renovate, and thereby invite man to be the friend and supporter of such civil discipline, as in conforming to this nature by graduating perfectability may combine individual and universal, temporal and eternal good.

I must conclude this short view, this multum in parvo, with the following consolatory prediction : That should Great Britain be able to preserve her present constitution, practically and theoretically, by means of a constitutional army and the liberty of the press, guarded by virtuous Jurymen, the æra of truth over all the world, or the salvation of nature, will commence before the lapse of another century.

The most exalted efforts of human understanding have lately issued from the English

lish press; such works as may, like the serpent * Venom, poison every nation but itself in possession of the antidote. Thought, which discriminates theory from practice, or predication from perfectability; works calculated to discourage action, and unite reflection, just criterions of the pre-eminence of the British Government, whose nice poised power solves the problem of civil discipline, suppressing passion and liberating reason.

CONSIDERATIONS ON PROPERTY.

PROPERTY of Kings and persons seems the center on which civilization revolves: man must be the head of his family, and the proprietor of their industry, or the individual wheel would have no clog to receive an impulse from the larger wheels in the grand machine of universal society.

Property is also the great source of optimacy; its acquisition demanding all the energies of intellect, and furnishing that medium of

* The sudden blaze of meridian truth may be as injurious to weak minds, as the light of the sun to feeble and morbid eyes. The despotic governments on the Continent of Europe will form a salutary medium to refract the light of British reason, which must pervade the whole Earth.

leisure by which its progress is made; it may be here objected, that poverty has oftener engendered philosophy, than riches; this is a most egregious mistake, occasioned by the use of words property, and mediocrity, as synonymous: there can be no study where the means of subsistence are absent, or where they are not assured by the laws of property, or meum and teum.

The desire of accumulating property, is the wind which preserves the ocean of intellectuality from putridity or stagnation; luxury engenders sensibility, and sensibility engenders thought and reflection, the only medium through which progressive truth or perfectability can be discovered. Men of learning and science have perpetually dealt out much common-place satire upon the evils of luxury; it is the peculiar province of genius alone, like fire, to separate dross from the pure ore, and extract good from its ever concomitant evil.

In the present unenlightened state of the moral world, the most perfect community or nation is that in which property is most generally diffused, forming thereby a powerful minority of population that may be able to subject the great supplemental mass of the majority,
and

and thereby constitute the mode of society into head and members, like the human body, whose greater members are subordinate to the lesser head.

"Till the revelation of moral truth shall appear, and the reign of reason commence in the universal knowledge of self and its unity with nature, assumptive power can alone form a happy coercion to human infanity; delegated power or uniyersal representation destroys the unity and supremacy of authority, and can serve only as a moral to the ancient fable of the quarrel of the head and members of the human body, which must take place over all the world whenever the basis of property is suddenly or violently annihilated.

In the present predicament of civilization, assumptive power is social life, attacked by internal and external ignorance or violence, and it is strong in proportion to the number of its constituent parts, and grows with their increase, and national perfectability advances in a parallel ratio. The augmentation of property and power forms the scale of national energy; philosophers, sectarians, and colonists, under its ample protection, may develope new theories and practise of civilization, which, like the sapling, draws all the nutrition from its parent

parent oak, and when its protecting branches become an impediment to its nurseling, the dissolution of the oak marks the prosperity of the sapling, and the whole world will become the colony of perfectable manhood.

If these admonitory sheets should not produce the salutary and indispensable measure of a constitutional army, and that the ancient military establishment of plebeian mercenaries shall be judged sufficient for defence in the new predicament or war of property, I shall retire to America, to save the germ of perfectability, unbiassed intellect, from the universal wreck which threatens civilization, and employ it to direct the Western Continent in its present moral infancy, while I should deplore the inconsolable loss of improving manhood in the too confident Island of Great Britain.

My reason has been long poising the scales of civil government, and has at length adjusted the weights; the scales are formed by assumptive and delegated authority, or aristocracy and democracy; the weights, power, and ignorance; when ignorance is ponderous in the latter, power must be counterpoised in the former; this gives a just energy to assumptive authority to restrain the passions, while delegated authority liberates the reason; and

since the invention of the press nothing is wanting to assure progress to perfectability, but the security of civil discipline, adapted to the moral temperament of the people; if this should be lost, the world must fall back into its pristine state of evil and ignorance.

I wish to say a few words more before I conclude to anticipate objections, which may be made to the constitutional armament, as promoting discriminations which may create a jealousy between men of property and those of no property; such objections are already answered by the purport of all civil qualifications, which has established government upon the basis of such discrimination. The poor themselves, if they possess the least share of reason, must be intuitively sensible that their industry is protected by civil discipline as much as property, and whenever anarchy arrives, the industry of the poor must be its first victim.

Let the poor beware of the infatuating doctrine of the *Rights of Man*, the war whoop of faction. Rights of legality are applicable to man in his domestic state alone, but in his political state right must be applicable to rectitude, and not legality of action; and public safety, though fenced in by legal rights to keep out faction, must have its portals wide open for

for patriotism, moving on the flexible line of rule and means to principle, the goal of general good.

I have for several years past been contemplating the momentous question of government, or that form of civil discipline which may best promote and protect the highest energy of this sphere of existence, human intellect ; and I have at length decided in favour of presumptive power adapted to the ignorance of the subject people, under whose wing philosophy must have progres, either creeping or walking erect in the secret or public efforts of the pres, universal delegated power must bring on anarchy in populous and luxurious empires, and apathy in small and rustic states, till truth and reason shall have been more generally diffused amongst mankind.

I know that despotism is as hostile as anarchy to philosophy ; but as the secret efforts of the pres can no more be extinguished than the rays of the sun, intellect must have progres, however slow ; power is to the politic body, what respiration is to the human body, when disease takes place in either, from want of regimen in the head ; should the members refuse their obedient functions, dissolution must take place ; but while life continues, remedy may be hoped for from the head, and nothing but dan-

gerous motion can derive from the members of either body.

Objections may be made to the above allegory by incompatible references to the Grecian, Roman, and British government; these, however, present nothing but the modifications of assumptive power. The helots, slaves, and disfranchised peasants, claimed no interference; but the present turbulent spirit of revolution would confound the base of the pyramid with its vertex, and place power in the hands, not of property, but number; not in the head alone, but in all the members of the politic body; this novel, dangerous, and incongruous system should form the tocsin of the world, and drive all reflective people to join the standard of power to preserve civilization from universal chaos, and the energy of intellect, the cause of all good to the unity of self and nature in time and eternity, from revolving back to barbarism and total darkness.

I have been the first agent in my philosophic works to couch the mental eye of man, and it behoves me to attemper the medium of vision to restored sight. I have been the first to increase the measure of perfectability, that quality which alone distinguishes the human from the brutal species; it behoves me peculiarly to procure

procure its germination in the climate of reason, and check its pullulation in the hot-bed of passion, and for this purpose to promulgate the following consummate political maxim over all the world. That the base of social energy is a capacity to restrain passion and liberate reason, and that its vertex is a great mass of optimacy or thoughtful citizens forming a constitutional army to consolidate the pyramid of society, cemented by the safety of person and property, of which maxim the British constitution will, I hope, soon become an illustrious criterion,

Ere my Tocsin ceases to toll, let its dying oscillations bear the following apology for my sudden change from temperate reformer to zealous alarmist. The conduct of the House of Lords upon the Hessian business, at a period when titles, property, and privilege is at issue, has seduced my confidence in British aristocracy, while inflammatory hand-bills distributed to the populace by demagogues at a period when social existence is in jeopardy, has disgusted me with democracy. The pompous banner of sentimental theory under which French democrats urge the giddy mob to general plunder, never dazzled my eyes ; I know their characteristic disimulation, and I know

that should their animal courage (or disesthesia of life) enable them to subdue the world, that same quality of thoughtlessness or irresolution must ultimately destroy themselves.

One clangorous peal more and then let the curfew cease: I call upon Government to *arm men of property, to arm them instantaneously, and let all thoughtful men of industry join to save the social fabric from destruction,* and then I will again step forward and become a most zealous reformist to defend the characteristic sensibility of the English plebacy from suffrage, and the thought of optimacy from error. O Britons! think and deliberate with freedom upon all subjects in domestic societies, the true medium of fair disquisition. Who calls you to assemble or to action, means to mislead you with eloquence (disquisition is incompatible with multitude) he is your enemy, the enemy of England, of social existence, and of all nature.

I was the first to discover the perfectability of human nature, and I will labour to mark out the descent from the precipices of civilization by the safe road of a gradual reform in the protective and powerful energy of civil discipline,

C O N C L U S I O N.

I FEAR I have undertaken the task of the travelled Laplander, who, upon his return to his countrymen, endeavoured to persuade them they were the shortest men in the world, or pygmies. They observed to him in answer, that they had short men of three feet, and tall men of four feet, and that they disclaimed the name of pygmies, which might be applicable to the whole world as well as themselves.

I wish to persuade the English people that they are the happiest, the wisest, the most powerful, and best governed of any other over the whole globe : I may be answered, that in England there is misery, folly, political debility, and corruption. Yes, of these truths I am very sensible ; but as the perfection of one individual is to be discovered only by a comparison with another, so it is with nations, whose comparison must ever be sought out of themselves.

I appeal solely to travellers of observation, whether on the road or in the library, to bear testimony to my following declarations ; that in

in no country except England, is the subsistence of poverty provided for by poor laws; in no country but England is education so generally diffused as to establish a mass of moral excellence, producing liberal protection and manly subordination, the pendulum of the social machine; in no country but England is justice administered with unsuspected integrity; in no country but England is property circulated with that liberal currency which gives life to industry; (an Englishman would close the bargain for the purchase of a house, before a foreigner would finish his higgling for an egg) in no country but England is religious worship administered to improve the internal moral energies of the human sphere, and restrict superstition from confounding them with the passive and incommunicable energies of unknown spheres; in no country but England is the political government so magically organized, that its very imperfections are its energies to conduct ignorant manhood through the tortuous mutability of predicament on to the graduated line of perfectability; and I am most conscientiously of opinion, that the English government, domestic, civic, and politic, is the only medium in which human perfectability can have progress, and that whatever may

may be the revolutions or changes of power amongst nations, they must ultimately attain the point of mixed government as in England, before they will deserve the names of constitution, or promise any permanent system accommodated to the improvement of manhood. Let us then not only as Englishmen, but as men, sensible of our unity with nature in time and eternity, join hand and heart to defend that country on whose decadence or prosperity depends the progress or retrogress of all moral perfectability.

Having for a long period revolved in my mind the subject of social organization, I have formed the following mature, conclusive, and comprehensive opinion :—that the progress of humanization must be made through the corrupt medium of luxury and refinement, and the progress of civilization through the corrupt and contentious medium of mixed government ; and through this double medium must be produced the colony of manhood, or state of enlightened nature : here human * perfectability

* The colony of manhood will produce such profound peace and stagnation of passion, that wisdom will putrefy and dissolve into ignorance, when moral motion will repeat its cycle of dissolution and renovation like all other parts of existence.

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must

must culminate and revolve eternally in this tripartite cycle.

Let me ask the democrats or reformers, what it is they wish, or what they are attempting to achieve ; subjects of a country that alone merits the name of a nation ? Do they wish it wiser, richer, happier, or more powerful ? then let them unite in private societies, and by dispassionately investigating truth, let them improve the moral character of the thinking part of their fellow citizens ; but if by inflammatory hand-bills they stimulate to action the thoughtless labourer or mechanic, they will but excite mutiny in the vessel of the state, labouring through the present storm of policy, and all must be lost.

Could we judge of their intentions by the declaration of their high-priest, Tom Paine, they wish for a cheap government. America has, indeed, a government so cheap, that it is trampled under feet by all rival nations, against whom it affords not the energies of protection, and internally has no power to enforce obedience to its civil laws. The government of England is, no doubt, dear bought, but then it holds the dominion of the ocean in appanage ; it procures for its travelling subjects the respect of sovereigns ; its man-

date gives peace or war to the whole world, and its menaces alone saved the Turkish Empire from the victorious arms of confederated Europe. France has a very cheap government; but unfortunately, it has so little internal energy, that it cannot procure subsistence for its citizens, or assure freedom even to the high-priest of liberty, who is now in prison; and should the sans culotte conquerors triumph over this country, the most enraged English democrat would make but cheap food for the French guillotine. I know those men the readiest disposed to action, are ever possessed of the least share of thought and reflection, and I fear my Tocsin will rather impel than restrain them; but I have the most sanguine hopes that it will assemble together all men of thought and property under the standard of government, and that by measures of energetic expediency and patriotic Jurymen, the fanaticism of democrats (insects of contingency) may be impeded from creating a mutiny in the crew, and that the vessel of Britannia may become the ark of civilization, and save it from the universal deluge of licentious liberty and equality, which now threatens the moral world.

I am the democrat of nature, and view the perfectability of manhood at its most elevated

point, on the scale of intellect (where the optics of the political democrat cannot reach) but I look down at the same time to the low point of predicament, and thought gives me sagacity to graduate the scale of union ; and when a constitutional armament shall have placed props to the fabric of the constitution, to guard it from the outrage of fanatical innovation, I will then boldly and confidently work hard to repair it, as the only matrix or asylum of the highest comprehensible and final energy of existence of this sphere, progressive intellect.

H A N D B I L L,

FOR THE

PLEBEIAN CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY,

Recommended to wealthy Patriots, to print and circulate over all England.

POOR and industrious fellow countrymen, beware of an artful, cunning class of men, who call themselves patriots, and go about with inflammatory discourse and seditious writings, to wean your love from the British Constitution, which has for many ages raised your condition of peace, plenty, and liberty, to be envied by the enslaved and miserable poor of all other nations. They impose upon you by long harangues when you are assembled, and seduce you with the flattering words of liberty and equality, to change the present form of government, where power is responsible, for one in which you could have no share, and they would have all the profit without any responsibility.

Examine

Examine the character of these patriots, you will find the most part of them dissipated, thoughtless rakes, who, having no powers of reason to give happiness to themselves, seek to be appointed by you, the guardians of the public happiness. You know well enough by your own experience, that the man who spends all his week's labour at the alehouse, can never govern well his family ; and how many are obliged to give their money to their wives, that they may have no liberty to spend it. How few men know how to govern their own selves or families where all is simple, to procure health and subsistence for their own persons ; what would these men do with the great family of the nation, where matters are so difficult and complicated, that wisdom itself is puzzled with the task !

You are exactly to the nation, what the arms and legs are to the body ; if this is sick, the head alone can keep a diet to effect a cure ; if the arms and legs were to govern, they would carry the body into the open air, and so destroy it ; just so must be your interference with the policy of the nation, nothing but disorder could ensue, and industry and property must first feel the pain of national sickness.

When

When these thoughtless rioting patriots talk to you of liberty and equality, would the industrious and ingenious artist, who earns three or five shillings a day, divide it with the idle or ignorant, who can earn but a shilling? would the weak bodied and weak spirited men wish the robust and angry to have more liberty and less law? then must follow the state of French brotherhood, where property is so equally divided, that nobody has any thing to eat, and the liberty of complaining is followed close by the guillotine.

Be advised by an honest man, who formerly subsisted upon property, but must in future depend upon his industry; envy not the condition of the rich, who riot in gluttony and voluptuousness; disease, vexation, and insupportable melancholy are their companions. You toil, but that procures you health, tranquillity, and cheerfulness. The landlord of the foil whose heart is bursting with care and disease, in his gilded chamber, would give all his property to enjoy the health and cheerfulness of his servants in the humble, but jovial kitchen.

Read, teach your children to read; converse frequently with one another on all subjects, but listen to no harangues of public orators;

orators ; they wish only to render your innocence, ignorance, and industry, the victims of their thoughtless ambition, that seeks to destroy all order, to make a play-field for their restless dispositions : whenever they accost you with their treacherous instruction, tell them you are determined to follow the Yeomanry of the country ; that class just above you in the community, who have education, and understanding to judge better than you of what evil must be borne, and what may be remedied ; that on them you place all your confidence, as from their commerce your industry draws all its support, and that you are determined never to act till you are capable first to understand, lest you should be engaged in the broils of a drunken club, where the candles being knocked out, friends beat friends in the dark, and general confusion ensues, in which all the membrs are equally injured or destroyed.

F I N I S.

